Use a Broom, Mr. Truman!—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*

December 8, 1951

Tensions in the West

New Alignments in the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Ambivalent Albion

BY ANDREW ROTH

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Postscript to *Collier's* World War III

Comment by *Walter P. Reuther, Robert E. Sherwood, J. B. Priestley, Erwin D. Canham, Stuart Chase, Lowell Thomas, Margaret Chase Smith, A. E. Coppard, Alex Comfort, Naomi Mitchison, John Cousins*

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Green Risings of the Landless

Madison, Wisconsin

SPONSORED by the University of Wisconsin, with the financial and technical assistance of the Department of State, E. C. A., and the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, the World Land Tenure Conference recently held at Madison has focused attention on "land reform" as an item of imperative importance on the agenda of the free world.

The six weeks' conference, which included a two weeks' tour of the South and Middle West, brought experts from thirty-seven countries to the campus of the University of Wisconsin. In addition, some thirty persons will remain for a full year to study at the university. Delegates were selected with special reference to the influence they might exert in their respective countries in initiating and implementing land-reform programs. Some were professors; others were government officials.

The delegates emphasized almost to the point of monotony the old problems of "excess" population, concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few, and the abject poverty and degradation of agricultural workers. A summary statement which might well suffice for the situation in practically all of the Far East, the Middle East, and a good part of Latin America was given by Salim Akib, agricultural officer of the Federation of Malaya:

> The Malayan farmers are backward and illiterate and use primitive implements and traditional farming methods. The average farmer has little or no incentive to work hard and better his living conditions. He is undernourished, poorly housed, and inadequately clothed. As is true in most parts of Southeast Asia, where four out of five have to till the good earth, agriculture is looked upon as an undignified and humble occupation. . . . Rents are very high, and there is usury and debt without end. Seventy per cent of the cultivated area (not including the rubber plantations) is owned by landlords who do not cultivate it themselves.

Land reform, however, poses many questions. In countries in which population pressure is heavy, the introduction of labor-saving machinery is likely to deprive many persons of even their present modicum of employment. In such countries, too, the individual units of operation are so small as to be extremely uneconomic, but if they were combined to make satisfactory "family farms," many families would be displaced. Another dilemma: if the large estates are broken up, there is always the possibility that economic efficiency will be reduced. Moreover, if mechanization is a goal, then the small farms do not provide an adequate base. In any case, the new recipients of land parcels must be provided with credit to buy animals and equipment, and, what is of equal importance, must be taught how to manage a farm and use improved agricultural methods.

The Madison conference gave much attention to the possibility of forming cooperatives for the acquisition and employment of modern machinery and even for the joint cultivation of the land. The Pakistan delegate, Professor S. M. Akhtar of the University of the Punjab, urged cooperative farming as an alternative procedure for solving some of the tenure problems of his country. Professor M. L. Dantwala of India also listed "cooperative joint farming for palpably uneconomic farms" as one item in a ten-point program for India.

Several other delegates looked with favor on the cooperative farm as a desirable alternative to "collectivization" on Communist lines, as well as a possible solution to the problem of small, uneconomic holdings. The difficulties associated with establishing cooperatives were generally recognized, but the delegates were hopeful about the possibility of surmounting them. It was felt that under capable management the cooperative farm would provide for the exercise of private initiative and also meet the requirements of efficient farming.

To relieve population pressure, practically all countries are today seeking to bring more land into cultivation by irrigating arid regions, draining swampland, and clearing forests, and to improve existing arable land by leveling and grading.

Another problem which plagues much of Europe and Asia is the fragmentation of holdings. Many farmers of Germany, France, Switzerland, and the Low Countries hold their land in as many as 150 small parcels, none of which are contiguous. Although the economic disadvantages of such a system are obvious, attempts to consolidate holdings by redistribution of plots have met with indifferent success.

Listening to the delegates, one was impressed, once again, by the terrific hold of custom on people; this is probably the major deterrent to achieving any rational solution of the intertwined problems indicated above. People in the countries of the free world, with a tradition of respect for the individual, are loath to take the drastic steps which the Communists take without hesitation. They prefer "gradualism" and try to achieve the desired goals with a minimum disruption of the social order. Yet a policy of gradualism sometimes requires more patience on the part of the peasants than they can muster. On the other hand, a drastic redistribution of the land, while providing immediate psychological satisfaction to the peasants, may prove in the long run economically disastrous.

Probably the landless have never been more universally aroused than they are today. Throughout history there have been numerous sporadic slave and peasant revolts, practically all of which have failed, but today the slogan "agrarian reform" echoes around the world. The areas of greatest social unrest today are predominantly rural. After a tour of fourteen countries as consultant to the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organization, Raymond W. Miller reported that there was scarcely a village in Asia or the Middle East in which "evidences of revolutionary ferment" were not to be found. It is typical of the free world's neglect of land reform that President Truman, speaking in San Francisco on his return from Wake Island, should have felt obliged to assure the peoples of Asia that the United States was in favor of land reform—after peasant China had already fallen to Communist control! Indeed, it is ironic that the land-reform programs of governments of the free world have been given impetus by Soviet efforts to stir up "green risings" everywhere. But give the devil his due!

LOWRY NELSON

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

THE MIXTURE OF SOPHISTRY AND WRATH which marked Mr. Truman's denial that a cease-fire had been ordered in Korea increased the confusion and did an incalculable amount of harm on its own account. By this time the facts are relatively clear. An order that originated probably in General Ridgway's office was transmitted to the commanders in the field. Although this order made it plain that hostilities were officially to go on until an armistice was signed, it was none the less a de facto cease-fire. It included such items as "avoid all casualties"; "maintain present defensive positions"; "avoid engaging the enemy unless he threatens our positions"; "no offensive operations"; "no exposure of our own troops on features that would draw enemy fire." It was the response to this command rather than any distortion of it which accounted for the anger and agitation displayed by Mr. Truman in his own denial that a cease-fire had been ordered and his denunciation of the press for issuing "false reports." With reason, the President was alarmed by the wave of relief that swept both the battlefront and the country as a whole—not to mention our U. N. allies. He and his advisers know how hard it will be at the end of a thirty-day lull to start the fighting again if no armistice agreement has been reached. He knows, too, that a relaxation of tension in the Western world as a whole will multiply the difficulties already complicating the effort to construct an Atlantic defense system. But it is a question whether Mr. Truman's insistence that the shooting must continue has had the effect he hoped. Reports from around this country and Europe indicate that people who had welcomed with enthusiasm the respite from killing felt as if they had been slapped in the face.

*

SENATOR TAFT HAS DENIED THAT HE MADE any "deal" with Governor Frank Lausche, a Democrat, in regard to the Ohio election last year, but Lausche could have done no more for Taft if the two men had had a signed and sealed contract of mutual aid. Ohio liberals and labor had no desire to be saddled with State Auditor Joseph T. Ferguson as the Democratic nominee against Taft. They wanted Murray T. Lincoln of the Ohio farm cooperatives, a man of stature and ability. But every time Lincoln was ready to announce his candidacy, some spokesman in the Lausche camp allowed it to be known that Lausche himself might want to run or that, in any case, he would not promise to pit his powerful machine against Ferguson's personal machine in the Democratic primary. Lincoln finally decided not to run, and independent liberals and labor could never get Lausche's pledge of support for anyone else. Having made it impossible for anyone but Ferguson to win the Democratic nomination, Lausche then pointedly refrained from supporting Ferguson against Taft. A "deal"? Perhaps not. But Lausche, the Democrat, carried sundry areas in his later fight for reelection as governor that Taft, the Republican, carried in the Senatorial contest. The anti-Taft forces were stuck with a weak candidate denied support by the Democratic governor. If Lausche didn't get any quid pro quo from Taft, the governor of Ohio should be entitled to sue "Mr. Republican" in whatever court has jurisdiction over ungrateful politicians.

*

UNDER THE CAPTION "SINISTER DOINGS AT the UN," Craig Thompson has concocted an extravaganza for the readers of the *Saturday Evening Post* (November 17). According to Mr. Thompson, the great glass peace palace by the East River has been infiltrated by "a group of Communist wreckers," who have succeeded in capturing control of the Staff Association numbering some 3,390 members. Published in the crackpot "fringe" press, the article could be dismissed as merely another manifestation of the mania which is a striking characteristic of these times. But it was not printed in *The Cross and the Flag*: it was published in the *Saturday Evening Post*. It is quite apparent that this was an article written with a purpose—to smear the 3,390 members of the Secretariat. No effort was made to verify any of the facts with officers of the Staff Association. Yet the article contains information, such as biographical details, which could only come from personnel records. The inference arises, therefore, that some administrative officials must have talked with Mr. Thompson and supplied him with information. More disturbing still is the silence which the administration has maintained since the *Post* article appeared. It is known that the Staff Association formally asked Mr. Lie to join with it in making a public statement that might offset the damaging effect of the attack. But no statement has been issued. In Paris Mr. Lie's exec-

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utive assistant told a representative of *The Nation* that the administration could not comment on the article at present but that the matter was being "carefully studied" by Mr. Lie, who would make a full statement in due course. It is clearly Mr. Lie's responsibility to defend the staff against such irresponsible charges. Either the charges are true, in which case the Secretary General must accept responsibility; or they are not true, in which case he should speak out. Mr. Lie's failure to speak out is the more remarkable in view of his past record as a friend of labor. The question that needs answering, therefore, is this: from whom is Mr. Lie taking advice these days and why?

*

THE OFFICE OF CIVIL DEFENSE IN NEW YORK City nearly came a cropper recently when it attempted to apply its own litmus test to the town's fourth estate. All newspapermen were required to sign a loyalty oath before receiving a "press card" from the Civil Defense. The card in effect superseded the time-honored press card issued by the Police Department; without it a reporter could not cover a Civil Defense demonstration. "We are complying in full," intoned the New York *Times*. Most of the other publishers went along. But Ted Thackery of the *Daily Compass* let loose a blast at the absurd "I-am-not-and-never-have-been" highhandedness of the oath and also pointed out that the Office of Civil Defense had dictated conditions of work. The real rub came, however, when the New York *Post* suggested that the O. C. D. had unwittingly recruited the entire press corps. With this membership went certain legal responsibilities: for example, if a reporter received an injury while covering a Civil Defense story the agencies would clearly be responsible. And there were other far-reaching consequences. Overnight the O. C. D. reconsidered. Defense Director Arthur W. Wallander assured *The Nation*: "The oath is an entirely voluntary thing . . . it is not obligatory, and we are not trying to lay down conditions of employment. Above all, we don't want to interfere with the freedom of the press." It is an unfortunate commentary on the whole affair that the real issue—intimidation through the witch-hunting device of a loyalty oath—was resolved not by the united resistance of the newspaper industry to such harassment but by O. C. D.'s legalistic fear of liability for bodily injury.

*

TWO ASPECTS OF THE CONTROVERSIAL personality of General Douglas MacArthur have never been questioned—his courage and his egotism. In politics as on the field of battle, the General likes to draw the fire of the enemy and to let the sun shine on his gold braid. Not content with having sassed his superiors in public debate, the General has now encouraged his Chief of Intelligence to take a lusty poke at a formidable array of individuals and institutions some of which have been numbered among his admirers. By bestowing his per-

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sonal imprimatur on Major General Charles A. Willoughby's preposterous attack on the American press, with pats on the back for the Hearst and Scripps-Howard chains, General MacArthur has again proved that he is both vain and valorous. General Willoughby's denunciation of such journalists as Drew Pearson, Hal Boyle, Homer Bigart, Joseph Alsop, and Hanson W. Baldwin as "careless chroniclers," "ragpickers of modern literature," "inaccurate, biased, prejudiced, petulant," and guilty of "calculated deception," indicated surprisingly defective political intelligence. But it must be admitted that he and his chief never count the odds. To take on the New York *Herald Tribune* (with a chivalrous exception noted for "the beauteous Marguerite Higgins"), *Time, Newsweek,* the *Saturday Evening Post, Reader's Digest, U. S. News and World Report,* and, by inference, the Associated Press and the United Press, is clearly a manifestation of a form of madness generally identified as courage.

*

ONE CAN BE GRATEFUL TO GENERAL Willoughby, however, for clearing up a major mystery of the Korean war. MacArthur's famous reference to "getting the boys home by Christmas," according to his Intelligence Chief, was not a careless but a clever instance of "psychological warfare" devised in Washington to convince the Chinese of our pacific intentions. After reading Edmond Taylor's "Richer by Asia," we have always been wary of the rigmarole that carries the tag "psychological warfare." It is likely to be more dangerous to the deceiver than to the deceived, especially when it is directed by persons lacking self-discipline and objectivity. Frankly we can see no need for the Psychological Warfare Strategy Board, but if such an agency must exist, it might better be directed by Gordon Gray, who recently resigned from the chairmanship to return to the University of North Carolina, than by his successor, Dr. Raymond B. Allen, president of the University of Washington. Dr. Allen launched the witch hunt at the University of Washington in 1949 that brought disgrace to the institution and set off as a chain-reaction the loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California, several legislative investigations of universities and colleges, and enactment of the Feinberg law in New York. By yielding to the artificial panic created by the Canwell committee in Washington, Dr. Allen demonstrated not only a lack of political insight but a susceptibility to delusion that hardly qualifies him for his new assignment.

*

THE FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1950 OF THE Anglo-Iranian Oil Company helps to explain the nationalization of the company's properties in 1951. For Anglo-Iranian, 1950 was a banner year. Its trading profit was nearly $228,000,000—more than double that for 1949—while net earnings, after royalties and British taxes, amounted to $92,700,000 compared with $51,500,000 the previous year. These brilliant results were due to increased sales at higher prices unaccompanied by any appreciable rise in production costs. Royalties paid to the Iranian government in 1950 total just under $45,000,000, about $7,000,000 more than in 1949 but less than half the company's profits. Moreover, the British government collected from the company in taxes no less than $140,000,000 in addition to dividends on its large stockholding. It is not surprising, therefore, that Iranians believed they were getting something less than a fair share of their oil wealth. True, as Sir William Fraser, the Anglo-Iranian chairman, points out in his annual report, the Iranian government would have had its royalty income doubled in 1950 had the supplemental agreement negotiated with the company in 1950 been ratified; and this year it would have received about $140,000,000. Since it is highly improbable that the nationalized properties will ever be able to earn sums of this order except in partnership with some international oil concern, there is no doubt that from a business point of view the Iranian government has made a colossal blunder. The pity is that the hard-headed Scots who manage the company failed to realize that the problem was not one that could be solved on a purely business basis. Had they made a greater effort to understand, and adjust their policies to, the psychology of Asian nationalism, their oil wells might still be flowing to the mutual benefit of Iran, the company, and the world.

Use a Broom, Mr. Truman!

ONE of Mr. Truman's weaknesses as President is his reluctance to recognize that some criticisms of his Administration may be grounded in fact. Demonstrated by his slowness in responding to charges of widespread corruption among his subordinates, this reluctance may cost the Democratic Party the 1952 election.

The President barely escaped another mink-coat scandal in his official family by firing T. Lamar Caudle as Assistant Attorney General just before Caudle's nauseous private business affairs were ventilated by the King subcommittee investigating tax frauds and fixes. He branded the Fulbright investigation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation as "asinine" until so much petty graft and favoritism were exposed that he was compelled to reorganize the agency and oust all its directors. He defended William M. Boyle's "integrity" and fine sense of honor before firing him from the chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee when Boyle's operations were revealed by a Senate investigation. And he seemed unwilling to admit that anything serious was wrong with the Bureau of Internal Revenue until publication of the unsavory facts forced him to recognize that field

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branches, if not the top administration in Washington, were honeycombed with incompetence and crookedness.

Unfortunately, those who made the charges against the President's subordinates have been right. Mr. Truman's famous loyalty to his friends and cronies—his toleration of Vaughan's deep freezers, Wallace Graham's commodity-market speculation, and the "free-loading" of other White House characters at Florida luxury hotels—apparently gave sundry lesser officials the idea they could get away with anything short of rape and murder. When did Mr. Truman ever express indignation at the thieves and election hoodlums who broke into a vault in Kansas City, Missouri—when the town was staked out by police and Secret Service operators because the President was there—and stole the ballots under investigation, or alleged investigation, by federal authorities? Perhaps if he had expressed some indignation T. Lamar Caudle, who at the moment was chief of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, would not have had to tell the King committee in 1951 that he "just couldn't remember" exactly what he had done, if anything, to push the inquiry and find and punish the thieves.

If the President had demanded a higher standard of performance from J. Howard McGrath, and his predecessor Tom Clark, the Justice Department's tax division might never have been headed by Caudle. The Attorney General goes around making speeches attacking Supreme Court decisions holding that Communists, like other people, are protected by constitutional guaranties against excessive or unreasonable bail. That is an easier and more agreeable task than to jack-up a department conspicuous for indolence, complacency, low morale, and—it now appears—granting favors to friends in tax trouble.

There is something revolting in the idea that "corruption" could become a serious campaign issue when the basic considerations of the 1952 Presidential and Congressional elections are the problem of war or peace, America's relations with the world, the survival of democratic liberalism. The corruption of Harding's Cabinet was not a successful issue for Democrats in Teapot Dome days, but Teapot Dome, in a sense, was remote from the people. Taxes are not. The man who sweats to earn his taxes, file an honest return, and pay his money can become exceedingly angry to learn that rich crooks with the proper political connections can thumb their nose at the tax laws and obtain protection if they are caught.

Belatedly the President is getting rid of officials who embarrass him. Belatedly the new chairman of the Democratic National Committee is announcing his devotion to the Cleveland doctrine that public office is a public trust. But Republicans would never have been handed "corruption" and the "big fix" as campaign issues if Mr. Truman had long ago given his full support to Democratic members of Congress who started the job of exposure and cleaning up.

New Alignments in the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, November 29

THE negative results of the Rome conference, taken together with Britain's firm refusal at Strasbourg to participate in either the Schuman Plan or the European army, have highlighted the determination of the lesser powers represented at Paris to prevent the present Assembly from ending in failure. What is taking place today is a major crisis involving the entire political, diplomatic, and military strategy of the West.

While the public debate on the American-British-French disarmament plan versus the Russian has continued in the Political Committee, new attempts have been made in the corridors to bring about a compromise. Mr. Vishinsky's speech of the twenty-fourth, though a merciless criticism of the West's proposals, seemed to some delegates to have an encouraging side in that it offered amendments to the Acheson plan instead of flatly rejecting it. There are even some delegates who claim to find three points of agreement in the two plans: both assign a decisive role to the Security Council, prohibit atomic weapons, and call for a disarmament conference.

In private conversations the Russians deny the charge that, because of Europe's economic crisis and the disappointing results of the recent military conferences at Paris and Rome, they are uninterested in reaching an accord with the West. I have even experienced myself how they react to this charge. Through an error in transmission my dispatch in *The Nation* of November 17 stated that the Russians were "waiting for revolution to take over a continent collapsing economically under the burden of rearmament." Their representatives here picked this up immediately. "If we were gambling on European revolution," said one man who very directly reflects the Soviet view, "to solve the problem of war or peace, we would have pursued an entirely different policy." No one, in fact, who examines objectively the conditions accepted by the North Koreans and Chinese in agreeing to the thirty-day truce plan and realizes that they must have followed Moscow's advice can accuse Russia of trying to prevent a settlement in Asia or in Europe.

But even if the gap between the Eastern and the Western point of view seems to be slowly closing, it will be necessary in the coming weeks for some delegations to have the courage to start serious private conversations on ways of effecting a reconciliation. Though it is possible that nothing will be accomplished, a curious and significant trend toward independence may be observed in delegations which in the past have always voted with the United States, those composing what the Russians call America's "automatic majority."

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The most impressive indication that this "automatic majority" is crumbling is the changed attitude of the Arab states. In the last Assembly several of these states took a position on Korea which was not entirely satisfactory to the Western powers, but now they are rebelling as a group. Egyptian diplomats here have repeatedly emphasized their distrust of the West and their friendship for the Soviet Union, and not only on the question of Morocco.

Nor is it only the Arabs who are becoming unreliable. Some of the Latin American delegates have shown a similar tendency toward independence. Take, for example, the able speech of Señor Santa Cruz of Chile on November 20. No one could call Santa Cruz pro-Russian or doubt his support of the Atlantic Pact and the defense measures undertaken by it. In the speech I refer to he reaffirmed that support in unmistakable terms. But he also pointed out that the sacrifices demanded by the West's rearmament plans endanger the political and economic stability of the non-Communist world.

"A study of the food situation in 1948-50 made by the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organization," he reported, "states that the daily per capita food consumption of calories and proteins is now lower than it was before the war, especially in Asia." And statistics for seventy countries as given in the Secretary General's Economic Report published at the beginning of this year show that "twelve of those seventy countries, one-third of the population of the world, dispose of only 4 per cent of the total income, less than $50 per inhabitant." The poverty and despair indicated by these figures forced the Chilean delegate to conclude that "90 per cent of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are indifferent to the struggle against Communist aggression." His words must have given pause to those who think that victory in the war against communism is only a question of having enough planes and atom bombs.

"I do not hesitate to say here," he added, "in this great organization of the United Nations, that neither the Charter with its elaborate system of collective security, nor the Atlantic Pact, nor the Middle East and inter-American pacts can guarantee the security and peace which we must seek in the total and active support of the common people."

I suggest that Señor Santa Cruz's warning should be pondered by American liberals, who in general lack his understanding of this indisputable fact: that while the cold war might go on for some time longer without developing into a shooting war, the cold war, plus the social conflict which the conditions cited make inevitable, must eventually lead to a real war, and one fought in what would be for the West the worst imaginable political and psychological conditions.

Another delegation which has insinuated, if feebly, that the antagonistic great powers might be reconciled through the mediation of a "neutral group" is the Argentine. Its chief, former Foreign Minister Paz, has stressed his neutral position in a public speech and in private conversations. His views would perhaps be considered unimportant if one did not know that in the last elections in the Argentine the four million who voted for the government and the two million who voted against it agreed in favoring neutrality. The opposition knew as well as the government that the popular thing to do was to take no part in the struggle between East and West. All during the campaign, therefore, it repudiated "pacts which lead to war" and specifically the Rio pact.

As the rearmament program demands greater and greater sacrifices, the sentiment called "neutralism" spreads and deepens. The West cannot afford to ignore it.

Ambivalent Albion

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, November 29

THE eighth session of the North Atlantic Council concluded its work on November 28—in the words of C. L. Sulzberger of the New York *Times*, "after much discussion and little agreement." Significantly it was Britain's attitude that was reported to be "negative," and "amiable but aloof." Little attempt was made to conceal or minimize the sharp differences between Britain and America.

What are the causes of the undeniable tension? It is the habit of most American reporters in London to suggest that apart from the Communists everyone in Britain loves the United States except a small group of "Bevanites" on the left wing of the Labor Party. It is worth while therefore to consider the source of the following remarks:

> As the balance of strength between the United States and this country has changed to the British disadvantage, so American policy has become less restrained, less comradely in matters of vital interest to the whole Commonwealth. . . . The dominating factor in future defense planning—the atomic weapon in all its forms—has been treated as an American monopoly, despite the scientific

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achievement and strategic bases that Britain contributes. . . .

It should . . . be the British purpose to discuss with the Americans not only the grand strategy of defense but the grand strategy of settlement. Stalin insists, and Beria has again insisted, on the possibility of peaceful coexistence. Is coexistence on such terms the most that can be hoped for in the lifetime of Stalin and Mr. Churchill? Very probably it is. But will the Americans be content with this? There is not the slightest reason to doubt the sincerity of Mr. Acheson when he states that the aim of his peace policy is to contain Communist imperialism by creating situations of strength, and then to negotiate from strength. Negotiation—but what about? . . . From strength—but how much strength and at what cost?

This is not the voice of a Labor back-bencher, or of the *New Statesman*, or of any other alleged "Socialist appeaser." The passage is taken from the rightist, pro-American *Economist's* lead article of November 17.

America's energetic replacement of Britain as the central organizing power of the non-Communist world during the last decade has naturally produced irritations. In the early stages of the Persian crisis, when the American position differed considerably from the British, it was openly charged in both Labor and Conservative circles that the United States was pushing out Anglo-Iranian in order to bring in an American oil company. More recently Britain's empire-builders have been fuming about Washington's success in bringing down the price of natural rubber and tin. Since the United States buys half the world output of the two products, it has been able to do this by keeping purchases in government hands and staying off the market until the price declined. The Manchester *Guardian's* financial editor said last week:

Malayan rubber and tin are two of Britain's foremost dollar-earning commodities. The huge dollar deficit of the sterling area in the third quarter and in October has clearly been aggravated by the decision of the United States government to monopolize tin and rubber imports, to stop all tin purchases, and sharply to reduce rubber purchases in Malaya. . . . Britain is forced by United States government policy to buy cotton at 44 cents which costs less than 10 cents to produce. Where are the real cartelists today?

This same theme is propounded even more frequently and bitterly by the *Financial Times*, whose chairman is Mr. Churchill's close friend Brendan Bracken.

While British leaders are envious of the United States' growing power and irritated when they think it elbows them, they are at the same time absolutely certain that their survival hangs on American support. They know they need not only direct economic help but the backing of American military-diplomatic power. The Kremlin, they are well aware, is not afraid of British military power but does respect the military-industrial potential of the United States. British leaders believe that the primary reason why the Kremlin has not given the green light to the Tudeh Party in Persia is that the United States might consider this an act of aggression and launch World War III. While pleased with American defense of the status quo in Iran, Britain still has no desire to share its stakes in that country. Britain welcomes the American assumption of responsibility for strengthening the French position in Indo-China. But in all the bitter newspaper comments on the deteriorating situation in Malaya there has not been a single suggestion that the United States be asked to help in that fight.

In the recent foreign-affairs debate in the House of Commons, Geoffrey de Freitas, Under Secretary for Air in the Labor government and a Yale alumnus, was worried that "the great personal popularity of the Prime Minister in America may confuse the American people and mislead them into believing that he is representative of the feelings of this country toward the United States. The Prime Minister has gone far indeed in saying that we must stick to America at all costs." De Freitas thought it would be better to send Foreign Secretary Eden to Washington, who "has a better understanding of . . . the limits which public opinion places on our cooperation."

AMERICANS are doubtless deceived by the British capacity for self-censorship in print and speech. You can read Conservative newspapers like the *Daily Telegraph* or the *Yorkshire Post* for months and imagine that "love the Yanks" is their chief thesis. But if you talk with their editorial writers you soon perceive their resentment that the United States now sets the pace, in a manner that they consider crude and unmindful of British interests. Thus W. L. Andrews, editor of the *Yorkshire Post*, in conversation recently revealed a fear of an Eisenhower-precipitated "showdown" in Europe in 1952 which is only pallidly reflected in his writings.

The dominant group in each party is convinced of the necessity of the Anglo-American alliance and suppresses its doubts about the way Washington acts. Mr. Eden, for example, in his November 19 survey speech, declined to say anything about the admission of Communist China to the U. N., excusing himself with, "I think . . . members will realize that nothing could be more unwise at this moment than that I should raise the subject of the status of China in relation to the United Nations." Experienced Englishmen know that Americans like to be liked and are indignant when they are criticized—particularly by allies in need of aid.

The Labor Party leadership is as pro-American as Churchill and Eden. In office they were equally chary of uttering a word which might be misconstrued by a

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sensitive American Senator. Out of office they are disclosing, in a guarded manner, the doubts they stifled before. Even the most devoted friends of the United States now reveal their fears that headstrong American action may precipitate an unnecessary war. "A momentary aggressive mood, or, what is perhaps more possible, a needless attack of nerves—it may be on the part of one nation alone—could plunge us into the Third World War," warned former Foreign Secretary Morrison on November 19. Conservatives tend to voice their fears in their clubs more than in the House of Commons, but the Tory M. P.'s from Lancashire are just as worried about Japan's American-supported comeback as their Labor colleagues. The journals which form Conservative opinion have been fairly plain-spoken, in their own British way. As early as last July 25 the *Times* said:

> There are times when European governments and peoples ask uneasily whether the pace of rearmament is not too fast. Will the momentum of the whole process carry the United States further than it desires to go? At what point will the United States consider that deterrent strength has been sufficiently established?

Evidently the crime of the Bevanites was not their criticism of the rearmament speed-up or of American policy but their refusal to observe the hush-hush convention. The essential fact to recall is that the bulk of the Labor Party accepted rearmament last year because they felt it was insurance required by the aggressive tendencies of the Communist world as demonstrated in Korea. Now they are beginning to wonder whether the premium is not too high. They feel that rearmament is crippling Britain's recovery and worry about what the United States will do when it thinks itself strong enough to cope with the Soviets. As De Freitas said:

> A situation might arise in which this country is involved in war with Russia and in which a large number of people here might believe that it had been brought about by an error on the American side. . . . The fact is that there are people in this country who fear that the Americans are moving toward a stage in which even to suggest a settlement with Russia might be regarded as treachery. This wave of hate and intolerance—which is very real—is amazing to those who know the kindness and the warmheartedness of ordinary Americans in their day-to-day life.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

"What's Wrong with Our Schools?"

BY KENNETH D. BENNE

NEARLY everyone, layman and professional alike, seems to have notions about what is the matter with our schools. Almost no one wants to leave our educational program as it is. John Dewey, Robert M. Hutchins, Dorothy Thompson, Westbrook Pegler—even Allen Zoll—agree at least to this extent: that changes, often sweeping ones, are needed in school policies and programs. And surveying the vast and varied educational undertakings in the United States—pre-school, elementary, secondary, higher, professional, and adult—one can no doubt find changes under way which are dedicated to the educational ideas urged by each of these voices and by many others not named here.

It is far from easy to determine which changes represent "progress." Those that have been advocated or attempted differ radically in scope and direction. Some changes involve the introduction of one or another new gadget—method, content, or device; others involve a profound reorientation of the total conception and practice of education. Some seek anchorage and security in historical educational ideas and practices; others build upon recently developed sociological and psychological knowledge and upon responsible diagnoses of contemporary society. Some would reject the democratic ideas of freedom, equality, and sharing, in so far as they have been built into the practices of the schools; others are dedicated to the extension of these democratic ideas and to the abolition of all inherited authoritarian patterns. The conflicts among various proposals are even more numerous and complex than this series of antitheses suggests. Different "innovators" advocate different gadgets as means of saving the schools. Different "authoritarians" are devoted to different ultimate authorities. "Democrats" are by no means fully in agreement concerning the central values of democracy or their operational meanings for school practice. In this chorus of competing Cassandras, how can the voice of progress be identified and its prophecy clarified?

To recall that the problem of finding acceptable directions for educational change is part and parcel of the

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problem of finding acceptable directions for wider social and cultural changes provides no simple answer to this question. It may, however, help us to get and keep our bearings in searching for an answer. Conflicts over the method, content, and objectives of educational programs are reflections of conflicts over the goals, values, and ways of thinking and working which should prevail in the society surrounding the schools. Schooling is always a deliberate attempt to influence the beliefs and conduct of more or less plastic members of a society. To attempt to clarify directions for educational progress, if it is done responsibly and clear-headedly, is to attempt to clarify directions for social progress.

THE dissonant medley of voices speaking of educational change in America today furnishes additional evidence, if more were needed, that our culture is caught in a profound crisis. The word "crisis," since it has come to be used widely by contemporary vendors of eloquence —Claghorns and columnists—as well as by responsible students of history and society, has acquired a variety of imprecise meanings. It is important, since crisis is a key concept in the present argument, that it be not equated with the latest diplomatic tension between Kremlin and Pentagon, or with some mysterious "weakening of moral fiber" which may be invoked to "explain" West Point cribbing scandals and the data of the Kinsey report. Diplomatic tensions and moral confusions are related symptomatically to the more profound and pervasive maladjustment of contemporary culture and society to which "crisis," as used here, refers. But to attempt to use symptoms as causes is as mischievous in social as in medical diagnosis.

The crisis in contemporary culture is reflected in the decline of the traditional local community. In the traditional community men shared deeply a common belief and outlook and resolved conflicts as they appeared by commonly accepted traditional methods. In that community children grew into common identifications and loyalties with a minimum of conscious tutelage. The counterpart of the decline of the traditional community is the growth of organized interest groups which have come, in industrialized and urbanized societies, to supply partisan centers of identification and loyalty to their members. Where the alternatives of our culture get caught in the grip of organized group conflict, organized interest groups do not in themselves provide mechanisms for reaching commonly acceptable resolutions. Rather they tend to perpetuate and stabilize social conflict.

In general, mechanisms and methods are needed for resolving inter-group conflicts at various levels of social organization—local, regional, national, and international. *It is probably true that the crisis in culture can be resolved, and at the same time the dynamic forces of modern science and technology maintained and directed toward common social ends, only as planning mechanisms, employing democratic and scientific methods of problem-solving, are built at strategic points into the fabric of industrial society.* We can no longer rely upon the control of custom or upon the non-deliberate methods of historical selection (whatever euphemism may be used to describe it—providence, historical reason, or the unseen hand) to restore community where it is threatened, as the traditional society tended to do. We must deliberately organize and plan for building and maintaining community where it has been threatened or lost.

On this view, it is in finding and building mechanisms and methods for effectively resolving social conflicts with respect to the major alternatives of contemporary culture that the general directions of social progress now are to be found. And it is in helping to equip people to build and use such mechanisms and methods in the pattern of their daily lives that directions for progress in the general education of our people are now indicated.

WITHIN this broad pattern of educational progress in American culture today four more specific directions stand out as strategic lines to follow. Only a brief comment on each can be attempted.

1. The program of education must be geared at all levels to the honest study of contemporary social problems. All members of our society must be helped to understand the crisis in our culture. They must be helped to see the complexity and importance of the major social issues of our time—the place of national and supranational effort and authority in an interdependent world, the problems centering around the role of government in our economic life, questions connected with the adequate conservation of human and natural resources, the problem of guaranteeing optimum levels of health and nutrition to all peoples. They must be helped to become responsible participants in the solution of these problems.

Some gains have been made both in secondary schools and in colleges in focusing segments of instruction upon the study of problems of contemporary civilization. Resistances to such organization of educational effort have come from those who do not want education to become an instrument of social progress and from others who are concerned with the possible loss of traditional educational values in a reorganized program of instruction. These resistances constitute part of the difficulty of maintaining the gains already made and of extending them.

One condition of effective instruction focused on social problems deserves special comment. The clarification and eventual solution of almost any social problem calls for knowledge and skill developed by several traditional academic and research disciplines. Such interdisciplinary effort is required in the preparation of materials and in at least some phases of instruction. It is nearly as hard to

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get cooperative effort across the lines of traditional departmental organization in colleges and schools as to resolve conflicts between organized interest groups in lay society. Yet awareness of the complexity and importance of contemporary social problems and of the need for coordinated effort in their solution—an awareness which is growing where academic men are not blinded by fear and hysteria—is probably the most effective force in stimulating needed interdisciplinary experimentation in our colleges and schools.

2. The resolution of social conflict calls for innovation in educational method as well in organization of content. One element in the method required is clear. Any effective effort to solve a social problem, at any level of social organization, requires group deliberation, group decision, group experimentation, and group evaluation. Representatives of various interests with a stake in the problem must find effective ways of talking and thinking across the lines of divergent ideologies toward a commonly acceptable solution. Actually, we know relatively little about the building of the social and psychological conditions which will release concerted thinking and decision across lines of conflicting interest. But we may be quite confident that the most promising method will combine elements from both "democratic" and "scientific" methods. For example, on the "democratic" side, it must be collaborative and must be oriented to the realities of the problem to be solved, not toward the irrational enhancement of the prestige of any party to the conflict. On the "scientific" side, it must be based on the most valid information available and must be experimental, in the sense that the results of deliberation must be held subject to evaluation and revision in the light of subsequent experience.

Somehow these standards of method, which have become easy to state, must be accepted as the operating norms of the group engaged in solving social problems. Because it promises help at this point, "applied group dynamics" has become an attractive field of study for some members of the teaching profession. And experimentation with group methods, on both the research and training levels, is spreading in schools and colleges as well as in adult-education settings. If the focusing of instruction upon the resolution of social conflicts is accepted as an educational task, educational leadership cannot easily avoid the study and use of methods for developing productive problem-solving groups.*

3. Educational effort which is to be effectively directed to helping people to build the mechanisms and acquire the methods for resolving social conflicts cannot properly be confined to the elementary and secondary schools or to the colleges. Somehow the responsible study of cultural alternatives must be stimulated among adults not under formal educational influence. If such study is to be adequately encouraged, somehow influence needs to be exerted to persuade the major agencies now engaged in opinion formation among adults to assume responsibility for the educational consequences of these operations.

The agencies which are properly parts of a comprehensive adult-education program can only be named here. Powerful influence on adult opinion is exercised by labor unions, trade associations, service clubs, civic associations, and so on, but only a small part of the potential educative influence of these organizations is now realized. And a still smaller part of this educative influence is geared to the honest and responsible discussion of social problems. Ideally, this adult-education resource needs to be developed rapidly if progress in education is to be attained or maintained. A more baffling problem is how to induce the managers of the mass media—radio, newspapers, motion pictures, and television—to assist adults to think seriously about social problems. Frequently the interests which dominate the policy of these agencies are threatened by the extension of democratic and scientific values in the society. Yet educational progress requires dedication of these resources to democratic and scientific purposes.

One potential avenue for progress in educating adults deserves special mention here. Citizens are today widely interested in their schools. Much of this interest is misdirected. But it is nevertheless a means of adult education if it can be guided constructively. I have said that problems of educational improvement cannot be divorced from problems of social improvement. If citizens interested in the schools can be helped to deliberate seriously and honestly about desirable directions for the educational program, they must also deliberate seriously and honestly about desirable directions for social change.

4. In any responsible strategy for stimulating educational progress today, the improvement of teacher education is certain to occupy a central place. Educational change in the directions already indicated as "progressive" will require professional leadership of a high order. The development of such leadership, instructional and administrative, is the task of teacher education.

Teachers and administrators who are to help citizens, young and old, to study social problems and to seek commonly acceptable solutions must themselves be able students of social problems. Somehow, in their training, the interdisciplinary resources necessary to clarify contemporary problems must become part of their intellectual equipment. In an extended period of supervised internship, now typically too short and inadequately supervised, teachers and administrators must supplement their conceptual understanding of social problems with active experience of these problems as they center in ten-

*The work of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development is probably most representative of this emphasis. Its publications may be obtained through the National Education Association, Washington, D. C. For a popular account of its work, see Stuart Chase, "Roads to Agreement."

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sion spots in community settings. Somehow teachers and administrators need to become skilled in building and training groups capable of "democratic" and "scientific" problem-solving. Skill in working with adults, as individuals and in organizations, as well as with children and young people, must become part of the equipment of the teacher and the school administrator.

The task of retooling the profession is a difficult one at best. It will be an impossible one unless intelligent lay leadership can be developed to hear the voice of educational progress within the current medley of educational Jeremiads and to mobilize the public moral, intellectual, and financial support which educational progress requires.

Postscript to Collier's *World War III*

SINCE the appearance of D. F. Fleming's article, *Collier's* Wins World War III, in *The Nation* of November 10 many readers have wanted an answer to a question raised by Dr. Fleming—namely, why a group of distinguished authors, of moderate views and progressive, non-belligerent instincts, took part in the *Collier's* journalistic ultimatum to Moscow. To provide an answer, copies of *The Nation* containing Dr. Fleming's article were sent to the contributors of the *Collier's* special issue with a request for comment. All replies received before the deadline indicated in the letter are included in this postscript. A protest received from a group of British writers is appended.

Comments by the Contributors

I wrote the article for the *Collier's* issue, "Preview of the War We Do Not Want," after a conversation with the editor in charge of the project and after having read a précis of the editorial setting forth the purposes of the issue and the attitude of the editors. I did not read any of the other contributions except Stuart Chase's article until the magazine was published.

I was reluctant at first to do the article and raised specific questions as to the tone and effect of the whole issue. These questions were answered satisfactorily, both by the précis of the editorial and by the editor to whom I talked. I still believe that the aims and approach stated in the editorial are sound ones, particularly its emphasis on the point that war is not inevitable and its firm opposition to a preventive war.

However, I must say in all honesty that the issue did not do what I expected it to, and I am forced to agree with many of the criticisms brought against it, including most of the points raised by Dr. Fleming in his article in *The Nation*. The failure of *Collier's* to achieve what I believe would have been a worthy purpose was due in part to the tone and content of some of the articles and in great measure to the terrifying and horrible scenes depicted in the art work accompanying the articles.

I hope that such criticisms of this issue of the magazine as those voiced by Dr. Fleming may stimulate enough discussion and clarification that some good may yet come from the project.

I believe the editors of *Collier's* had the best of intentions, and certainly it was my intention to contribute to the cause of world peace by participating in this special issue. I believe, however, that the issue fails of that objective and I sincerely regret that it does. WALTER P. REUTHER

I was asked a simple question by the editors of *Collier's*: what would be the problems involved in the establishment of a free press and radio in Russia, assuming a world war had taken place and the Soviet regime had collapsed? I found this an interesting and legitimate question and did my best to answer it. If the total issue has conveyed to readers either the idea of the inevitability of a third world war or that victory would be easy, I strongly dissent. But I took seriously the assurance of *Collier's* editors that they do not believe war is inevitable and that they hope this issue will contribute to prevent it. Naturally I do not agree with all the techniques or viewpoints expressed in the issue. I hope the discussion it has engendered, at least, will help us to prevent such a catastrophe. I think the last sentence of Dr. Fleming's first paragraph, "It was therefore a quasi-official American plan for World War III" is a misstatement. In my observation it was certainly not "quasi-official." ERWIN D. CANHAM,
Editor, the *Christian Science Monitor*

Having read Dr. Fleming's article, I must point out that I wrote my article, which was a fictional description of a hypothetical Third World War, without consultation either directly or indirectly with any "high-level Washington officials"—or, I may add, with any low-level Washington officials. In fact I was in England when I wrote it, and I did not consult with any officials there, either. Nor did the *Collier's* editors ever tell me that they had consulted high-level officials or that I was directed or urged to take any particular line in the article. Therefore Dr. Fleming's statement that this is a "quasi-official American plan for World War III" is entirely untrue. If it were described as a "pipe-dream," I could not complain.

When I first wrote the article, I had not read any of the other contributions to this issue. I had had two short talks about the project with Cornelius Ryan, of *Collier's*, and attended a meeting at which were present Mr. Ryan, Allen Cleaton (also of *Collier's*), Hanson Baldwin, Allan Nevins, Stuart Chase, Marguerite Higgins, and Harry Schwartz. Later, in London, I consulted Seymour Freidin, *Collier's* chief European correspondent. I did not talk to anyone else about this project.

In answer to the question why did I do this, I can only

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reply that in 1935 I wrote a play called "Idiot's Delight" about the outbreak of the Second World War. I hoped that this play might help to inform some people that such a catastrophe was possible, and perhaps impel them to take measures to prevent it. When there is a widespread drift toward war, it seems to me advisable to call attention to it and its dreadful implications. ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

The purpose of the *Collier's* Russian issue, as discussed repeatedly with contributors months before publication, was to show graphically the awful consequences of atomic war, to spike the guns of the preventive-war faction in Washington, and to suggest how a wedge could be driven between the Russian people and their masters in the Kremlin. These purposes seemed desirable to me, and I was glad to cooperate in the venture.

Whether the venture produced the effect that the editors and contributors hoped for is another question. Some say yes, others say no. It is too early to tell about that, for *Collier's* was not talking to the intellectuals or the liberals, but to the people. STUART CHASE

I wrote the article for *Collier's* as I felt it might contribute to discouraging Russia from starting a third world war.
SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH

I was in England when I was asked to write the article on the Arts in Russia. The general project was explained to me, though not in detail. I was told that the decision to publish such an issue of the magazine had not been made until after much deliberation. I did not see the contributions of my fellow-writers.

For my own article, however, I take full responsibility. (And I cannot help wondering if Dr. Fleming and some other critics have really read this particular article.) It offered me a valuable opportunity to put before several million American readers the view that the Russian people are not mysterious monsters but are among the most richly creative folk of this world, as they proved in the nineteenth century and might demonstrate again once they are free of the present frustrating and tyrannical system. And the article was based not only on my own first-hand knowledge but also on discussions I had with recognized authorities on Russian life and character. Dr. Fleming ignores the main part of my article and merely quotes a statement about an immediate "huge, excited demand for anything foreign and Western, for books and plays, pictures, films, ballets, and operas." It is not quite clear to me why this statement was chosen, but if Dr. Fleming sees it as an instance of brash absurdity, I can only point out that that is what happened, in similar conditions, in Germany, as I know from personal experience, one play of mine having been given about fifteen hundred performances. It has been suggested elsewhere that it is equally absurd or insensitive to imagine Russians enjoying "Guys and Dolls." But in point of fact this is precisely the kind of full-blooded satirical musical that the Russians would enjoy, and which at the moment they are dismally prevented from enjoying.

Finally, it is not for me, an Englishman, to decide if an elaborate project of this kind, designed for American readers, is likely to do good or harm to the average American mind. I can only declare emphatically that not one word I contributed to it could possibly widen the gulf between the American and Russian peoples, inflame anybody's hatred, or make the task of creating international understanding more difficult. As an infantryman throughout World War I and a London radio speaker throughout World War II, I know something about wars; and I can assure Dr. Fleming and you, sir, that my family and I are so situated that I have every reason to hope we shall not see World War III.
J. B. PRIESTLEY

Collier's gave me a general account of the contents of the issue, and I read some of it in advance. Their view was that they were warning against a Third World War, in accordance with the title, "The War We Do Not Want"; that they were emphasizing the devastation atomic attacks would inflict on us and were thereby conducting a propaganda for peace. At the same time they were urging America to prepare against the dire possibility and were setting forth, for the benefit of oppressed people behind the Iron Curtain, the hope the American people would have if a conflict could not possibly be avoided, the ideals for which they would fight. I pretend to be no expert on such matters as propaganda but think *Collier's* fairly carried out the general idea they gave me.
LOWELL THOMAS

A British Protest

[*The following letter was addressed to the editors of* Collier's *by the four British authors who signed it on behalf of the Author's World Peace Appeal. Copies were sent to the English press,* Les Lettres Françaises, *and J. B. Priestley.*]

November 17, 1951

Dear Sirs: It is with a sense of bewilderment and despair that we write to protest against the irresponsibility of your issue of October 27, 1951.

We feel bewilderment that people who could so glamorize and cheapen the tragedy of the fresh world war they envisage could at the same time so piously protest their desire above all else to avoid it; despair, that in this broken world of 1951 any human being can still believe that such a war could lead to any good or happy result, even the rather trivial and conventional Hollywood happy ending your correspondents seem to combine in predicting.

You have chosen the method of presenting us with a *fait accompli.* Evidently you did not wish to harrow your readers, unduly, since on not one page, in not one picture, is there more than the merest hint of the wastes of human suffering that such a war must entail. You make scarcely more than a conventional grimace of pity for the innocent victims of such a war. Most Europeans are living in the chaos caused by the two world wars through which they, perhaps more than the Americans, have suffered. Yet you show not one shadow of the doubt we feel, the doubt whether such a war could have any end at all except the end of total annihilation—annihilation of life itself and of everything that makes life worth living. Nor do you mention the widely held conviction that such a war, even such a victory, might only end in the

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communism it seeks to extirpate. Your method of presentation has precluded any mention of such doubts, such thoughts, such arguments, which are perhaps our greatest security against a renewed world war. That in itself appears to us an intellectual and emotional dishonesty for which the responsibility rests squarely on your shoulders as editors.

Your correspondents have as much right to their private wish-fulfilment fantasies about the fall of communism as anyone, but by presenting these in the manner you have you have incurred a public responsibility which no journalist in this country will envy you and which, we hope, few would wish to share.

If you aimed to produce an effect, you have certainly done it. We cannot recall any previous publication which has caused such widespread alarm and indignation. Not only have you frightened and offended your friends, but you have put a God-given weapon in the hands of everyone who hates or distrusts your country, and dealt a crippling blow to those of us who do not equate peace with militant anti-Americanism. If that has been the effect in this country, and we can assure you that it has been, what do you imagine has been the effect in Russia, where you have already been widely quoted? If your idea was to separate the Russian people from the Communist government, it is unfortunate that you should have chosen as your weapon a mixture of arrogance and threat which seems to confirm practically every allegation of warmongering that the Communists have made against America and which can only generate a state of indignation in every Russian, whatever his private view of the Kremlin.

We do not believe that by outlining the desired ends you are striving to justify in your minds the horrifying means; we do not believe that you are attempting to foster such a feeling of justification; we do not believe that any American would wish so to justify a war in which America would quite possibly be the only survivor.

Yet if words still have meaning, if they still have power to sway men's minds and emotions, we can only believe that your words have brought nearer the very war you profess to deprecate.

One of us showed your paper to his office cleaner—we can, if you wish, give you her name and address though she would much rather we did not. In the First World War she lost her father, in the Second her husband, her daughter, and her home. That may, of course, have influenced her judgment. She made this comment: "I never believed until this moment, sir, that old Joe Stalin was right when he called those Americans warmongers. Perhaps then, after all, it ain't all his fault." If you believe this woman is a Communist you will end by believing your own fiction columns.

The group of 400 English writers at whose request we are sending this protest is not subsidized from Moscow any more than she. Our only common political eccentricity is the desire to stay alive and permit others to do so—to prevent, as far as it is in our power, the catastrophe which you so blithely assume. We desire friendship with all countries, including your own, and we deplore the mischief you have done to Anglo-American relations as much as the wider mischief you have done to world confidence.

A. E. COPPARD ALEX COMFORT
NAOMI MITCHISON JOHN COUSINS

Disarmament: Facts vs. Propaganda

BY LAWRENCE H. FUCHS

THE disarmament proposals presented to the United Nations by the Western Allies amid fanfare and huzzahs were more than a "mouse" but something less than sensational. The only new thing about the offer was the announcement by the Allies that they were ready for a census of all weapons, including atomic weapons, and that they were willing to set disarmament machinery in motion just as soon as the census was completed.

Otherwise, the "fresh approach" hailed by President Truman was merely a warmed-over version of various suggestions which both the West and the Soviet Union had made previously. To a large extent the "new and sensational" offer represented an American switch to positions on disarmament and arms control heretofore held by Moscow. The point seems to have eluded our press and radio commentators entirely. Nor was it recognized by American spokesmen for the proposal.

By failing to emphasize this point, the American spokesmen abandoned a genuine weapon of compromise and negotiation—recognition that something might be said for the adversary's position. If we had reminded the Russians that they have long demanded a census of *all* armaments, urged widespread disarmament, and agreed to the principle of inspection in the control of atomic energy, Vishinsky would have been unable to damn Acheson's speech in the cavalier fashion he did. Moreover, by forcing a more reasonable reply, we would have eased tensions and impressed the world with a sincerity as fresh as it was bold.

What are the facts about atomic control and disarmament which we could have exploited in the cause of peace?

Until President Truman made his speech on eventual disarmament in October, 1950, American leaders had shunned the idea like the plague. Moreover, we had put

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every obstacle we could in the way of merging the atomic-energy and conventional-armaments commissions. Our position, as expressed by Assistant Secretary of State Hickerson in the fall of 1949, was that there were "fundamental differences between the two fields which made it impossible to deal with them under one and the same plan." We accused the Soviet Union of disregarding these differences. The Russians had tried from the first to combine the work of the two commissions. At one point the Polish delegate to the General Assembly argued that the logic of the American position would demand separate commissions for revolvers and machine-guns. In 1950 President Truman advocated merging the two commissions, adopting without acknowledgment the Soviet position.

Secretary Acheson

As for disarmament, Vishinsky has been pressing since 1947 for a one-third, across-the-board cut in arms by all permanent members of the Security Council. This offer has been recognized for what it is—propaganda. He has suggested no plan for inspection and verification of the disarmament program. Furthermore, disarmament in all weapons, despite an appearance of simplicity, is a complex business, and a one-third cut in our atomic stock pile is not the same thing as a one-third reduction of the Soviet army.

But the facts remain. Until the fall of 1950 we opposed disarmament talks and the notion of combining work on the control of atomic energy with planning for the control of conventional weapons. Until that time the Russians persistently urged the merging of the two commissions, and from 1947 until the present time have talked constantly of disarmament. Now we announce a plan in some respects close to the Moscow line—and we dare Moscow to accept it.

The idea of a census of arms is "old hat," too. We had previously urged a census of conventional armaments, as distinguished from atomic weapons, verifiable by inspection. We, of course, opposed an inventory of atomic weapons just as long as we held a near-monopoly of bombs. The Russians quite naturally urged an inventory of all weapons, including atomic ones, but made no suggestion for verification by inspection. Now an important part of the West's new proposal stresses a census of *all* armaments plus inspection. This is the first time we have agreed to a census of atomic bombs.

It is frequently said in this country that since the Russians will not allow inspection, there is no hope of working out a satisfactory atomic-control plan. Actually the Russians gave in on the principle of inspection long ago. Genuine and vital issues contribute to the impasse on atomic-energy control, but inspection is not one of them. Let Vishinsky speak for himself:

> The Soviet Union's draft proposed to give the international control commission very wide powers. It proposed that it should be given access to all enterprises concerned with the mining, production, or stockpiling of atomic energy.

The Moscow delegate further explained:

> As early as 1947 . . . the U. S. S. R. representative had explained that there should be periodic inspection of all enterprises, beginning with mines and ending with factories; and that inspection should be carried out, not at intervals fixed in advance, but whenever necessary. That necessity was to be determined by the international control commission. . . . Finally, to put an end to all allusion to the veto, the proposals laid down that all decisions would be taken by a majority vote.

WHAT, then, are the differences which have prevented atomic compromise?

The Baruch proposals, which have majority support in the U. N., demand international ownership of all atomic facilities. Some atomic-energy plants would be licensed by international authority to the member states. The Russians have opposed international ownership. They have argued that the industrial needs of the Soviet Union for atomic energy are too great to allow an international authority controlled by the West to parcel it out to member nations.

Another major difference concerns the destruction of existing atomic stock piles. The Soviet Union wants the bombs destroyed as soon as a convention for the control of atomic energy goes into effect. As long as we maintain our atomic superiority it is unlikely that the U. N. majority will agree to a destruction of bombs already produced until it is certain a control plan would work. This means a period of international ownership plus continuous inspection. But the Russians do not want a mere promise that we will destroy our bombs at some future date.

The issue of the veto provides the one other important point of disagreement. The Russians have made it clear that a majority vote by the international authority on questions of inspection and recommendation to the Security Council satisfies them. But they insist that the big-power veto in the Security Council shall not be given up when it comes to applying sanctions against a member detected in a violation of the control program. This, however, is really a phantom issue, since de-

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tection of a violation by any one big power would be followed by war whether that nation used its veto or not. The illegal seizure of atomic facilities or manufacture of atomic bombs by one power would be a certain signal for war.

The crux of the impasse is who shall own the mines and facilities used in the production of atomic energy. Shall it be the nations themselves or shall it be the international control authority? We have maintained that there can be no satisfactory control without international ownership: the same processes are involved in the production of atomic explosives for industrial purposes as for weapons of war, which makes inspection without ownership very difficult. Moscow, on the other hand, rejects the idea of international ownership under the aegis of the United States and a hostile U. N. majority. But it probably wants very much to establish international control over the one weapon in which the United States has an obvious superiority. If this were not the case, it is extremely unlikely that the Russians would have conceded the right of the international control authority to inspect all atomic facilities. It is this significant ideological concession that the West should have exploited to the hilt in making its disarmament proposal this fall.

Foreign Minister Vishinsky

So close is the Soviet position to the Western plan that on the day President Truman announced a "fresh approach" the World Peace Council, which reflects the Communist point of view, met in Vienna and passed a resolution calling for "a general census of all types of arms and armed forces and the application of an international inspection and control system to check the realization of such an agreement." Would Vishinsky have laughed as cynically as he did if Acheson—two hours before the Soviet spokesman took the rostrum—had referred to the already published Vienna resolution?

HOW effective it would have been to point out to the world that part of our program already had the support of the Soviet Union! If this approach was considered at all, it was probably opposed and dropped for the following reasons: First, we wanted at all costs to be righteous, to appear consistent. We also did not want to seem to be saying, "me too." But no one will be fooled except ourselves if we pretend we have been consistent. Informed U. N. observers know that we wanted no census of atomic bombs as long as we held an atomic monopoly. They know that we have deliberately avoided disarmament talks in our effort to build arms to a parity with the Soviet Union.

If we had acknowledged that we were supporting something the Russians had previously suggested, Vishinsky would have had a hard time explaining just why the Kremlin was changing its mind. Secretary Acheson could then have asked, "Will the Soviet Union permit inspection of atomic installations and hedge on the need for inspection of all military might?" Widespread inspection is undoubtedly viewed with apprehension by the Politburo, but since Moscow has accepted the principle of inspection, it could not easily let the question go unanswered.

Another reason why the approach suggested here was probably never considered seriously can be ascribed to McCarthyism. To agree on anything with Moscow provides meat and drink for the Wisconsin Senator. But we certainly cannot allow our foreign policies to be guided by McCarthy's instability. The State Department must get over its reluctance to accept abuse. It is in a position which the victims of race and religious prejudices know so well. Whether you do or you don't, you're damned.

The President talked earnestly in his speech about ending the cold war. No doubt he meant what he said. It has been pointed out, however, that our government immediately dismisses as sheer propaganda all Soviet proposals that are made in public and not through appropriate diplomatic channels. The temptation to seize the initiative in the propaganda war must be great. But the statement Mr. Acheson made at Paris was unwittingly of a kind to maintain the tension which makes realistic discussion of disarmament so difficult.

Debate in the Political and Security Committee has been more moderate than it was in the General Assembly. Mr. Acheson tried to reassure the Russians that inspection of all military organization would not bring a swarm of Western spies to Moscow. He also made it clear that we are willing to discuss atomic-control plans other than our own. For his part, Vishinsky presented a battery of amendments to the Western plan in a context which was notably free of vitriol. Under the prodding of delegates from the Arab-Asian bloc and from West European countries the atmosphere may improve, but the basic issues outlined here will remain.

Tensions must be eased if we are to negotiate. The self-righteousness and recrimination which pervade Soviet speeches do not make our task easier. Nevertheless, there is still a good deal more to diplomacy than beating our own breast and attempting to beat the other fellow's skull. Skilful presentation of the quite unsensational Western proposal for disarmament might at least have helped to usher in a period of negotiation.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The United Nations—a Critical Survey

THE UNITED NATIONS AND POWER POLITICS. By John MacLaurin. Harper and Brothers. $5.

MANY a Western leader will dislike John MacLaurin's book, for in this season when General Assembly headlines again set people thinking of the U. N. promise, Mr. MacLaurin complains that Western policies in the U. N. have been devised to serve military, political, and economic interests—instead of morality. He finds the Soviets often guilty, too, but he thinks the Western majority should try for conciliation. "Machiavellian statesmanship," he contends, "is not only morally revolting but more unrealistic than the most wide-eyed idealism. On the other hand, policies which pay heed to moral claims are likely to secure for us all that is legitimate in the concept 'national interest.'"

What is moral? What is right? These are the fundamental questions. Mr. MacLaurin—this is the pen name of an educator who has served as a U. N. consultant—thinks the right would call for support of freedom movements in the world's colonies and trust territories. It would mean civil liberties for 300,000 Asians in South Africa and for 1,000 Soviet wives who wish to join their husbands abroad. It would mean promoting better living standards by means of technical aid and capital investment through the U. N., instead of national programs of power domination.

Many a citizen of good-will would support such prescriptions. But the test of morality is hard to apply. Mr. MacLaurin thinks the United States should not have pulled out of the gentlemen's agreement of 1946 that allotted the Soviet bloc an elective small-power seat on the Security Council, as well as the permanent U. S. S. R. place. The West in 1949 elected Yugoslavia to that seat—a Communist but not Cominform country. Which was the moral policy? To let the Soviet Union dictate the choice? Or to elect democratically? Experience had indicated that the second Soviet bloc seat was simply turning into a Soviet echo, whereas Mr. MacLaurin himself hails Yugoslavia as a third force, a symbol of independence, a U. N. voice with positive proposals.

Mr. MacLaurin suggests that the United States might turn over half its arms funds for good works by the U. N. "in leveling up the depressed half of mankind," with no political strings. "Would not this in fact give the United States greater security than any other nation enjoys?" he asks. "Who would want to attack such a country, indeed who would dare so?" He doesn't care for the North Atlantic alliance too much.

But strength may deter attacks. Denmark and Norway threatened no one in 1940. Nazi Germany overran them. Soviet forays in Finland and the Baltic states have taken place. Mr. MacLaurin himself says bluntly that "the Soviet government unleashed a breach of the peace" in Korea, even while he dislikes the U. N. intervention in behalf of the regime of Syngman Rhee in South Korea, which he calls "corrupt, tyrannous, and socially a blind alley." (That opinion is not shared by the current U. N. commission in Korea.) Is it safe, given this Soviet neighbor, to lay down arms? Is it right? Or moral? Should not the South Koreans have been defended? By the U. N.?

It is good to have books like Mr. MacLaurin's, even if he does sometimes lean too far backward. He stimulates thinking outside the usual ruts. Incidentally, it is a bit regrettable that he should have chosen to use a pen name; his identity—whilom visiting professor of education at Teachers College and New York University, UNESCO consultant, active frequenter of U. N. halls in 1949, brother of a much more leftist British politician—is an open U. N. secret. He has done an enormous amount of research, and much hard thinking. He might as well take the credit—and the criticism.

His book of 468 pages, including index, portrays effectively, comprehensively, and often dramatically the workings and works of the U. N. organs. Half of it is given to studies of the U. N.'s efforts for a more abundant life which are being made by the various agencies whose resources are so much less than the world's expenditures on propaganda and even crop destruction. He dwells on the struggle for independence as aided by U. N. programs. He admires the influence in the U. N. of single individuals like the Reverend Michael Scott—who is concerned with issues in South West Africa. Inevitably he makes some factual slips, relatively minor, and there can be many a quarrel with his opinions. But his philosophy is a sound one—that the U. N. can do whatever its member governments wish, and what those governments wish depends upon their peoples.

He tries to reason out the U. N.'s successes. The original proposal for British, French, and Italian trusteeship over segments of Libya failed in his opinion because "selfish and unjust proposals will always risk colliding head-on with the self-interest of a large number of others. This is how the U. N. at present principally functions as guardian of peace and justice." He thinks the present solution for Libyan freedom by January 1 is better.

He thinks the continuance of the children's fund is a tribute to the smaller powers—the United States had preferred to cut out U. N. relief work in favor of simple advice. In this chapter, however, he is unfair to individual delegates. As he notes elsewhere, they may be blamed for the tone and wording of their own speeches, but the substance of the speeches is drawn from government instructions at long distance.

He correctly minimizes the hurdles of machinery. He contends that the main effect of Soviet Security Council vetoes has been to block membership for Western-backed applicants and to prevent inquiry into the Czechoslovak Communist coup. (They also thwarted a pioneer atomic-control cooperative.) Other vetoed issues, he notes, have been solved outside, such as the withdrawal of British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon and the lifting of the Berlin blockade. Or they have moved into the

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Assembly, as in the Spanish and Balkan cases, or the International Court of Justice, as in the Corfu ship disaster. He thinks every nation ought to be admitted to the U. N., and credits the Soviet veto with keeping the U. N. from becoming too much composed of governments favored by the United States and Britain. He thinks the Czechoslovak inquiry would have done no good—a view that does not quite square with his emphasis on the moral value of bringing facts before world opinion. He thinks the veto useful as a cautionary signal.

Mr. MacLaurin is for the U. N. in spite of all his strictures. He tells of "the man who came home and found his wife and mother quarreling on the new sofa; so, determined to stop the quarreling once and for all, he threw the sofa out of the window." He thinks, rightly, that the U. N.'s job is to try harder for agreement—not to heave out the sofa.

PETER KIHSS

Of New Americans

THE UPROOTED. By Oscar Handlin. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. $4.

NOT many of us realize that after almost forty years of restricted immigration the foreign-born have become "statistically negligible" in the population of the United States; in fact, some of us have recently been as absurd in our fears of "foreign inundation" as in other contemporary fears that have astonished detached observers. Our historians and sociologists, however, have been inquiring into the strength that came to us from what the late Marcus L. Hansen a decade or so ago called the Atlantic Migration, and into the strains that it imposed on the migrants. Professor Handlin has not written a history of that migration. He has not even fully achieved his expressed intention of recording "the effect upon the newcomers of their arduous transplantation," because his treatment of immigrants to rural regions is nearly negligible. It seems not to have occurred to him, for instance, that the normal indoctrination for the successful rural immigrant came as the "hired man" of the initiated.

Yet his account of those who left their European villages and stopped in the cities of the American eastern seaboard, most obviously New York and Boston, is a novel and great achievement, an imaginative, moving, almost poetic distillation from the lives of millions of new Americans. It is as if he had blended the dynamics of the migrations, with which Hansen first made us familiar, and the adventures, tangible and intangible, of urban Americanization, as Alfred Kazin has recently communicated them in "A Walker in the City." This combination has the historical depth that was lacking fifty years ago when the writings of Jacob Riis and others gave off more heat than light.

Because the book is brief and generalized, a good many objections can be raised to particular points. The New World, for instance, is frequently credited—or debited—with effects which industrialization would have had upon the stay-at-home European as his own country was industrialized. And the rather strained thesis of the introduction that the immigrants lived in a perpetual crisis of dilemma and necessity of choice, because they "could not impose their own ways on society; but neither were they constrained to conform to those already established," is open to obvious qualifications. The desire to be inconspicuous by conformity normally dominated. The young took on the new coloration more easily and gladly than the old. The strong urge to conservatism of the majority, already discussed by Hansen and others, can be more simply explained, as can the lower rate of crime among foreign-born than among natives.

Yet no one has dealt with the city-bound immigrants of 1820-1920 more understandingly or sympathetically. This is an intensely humanistic book which gets under the skins of harassed, self-questioning people, feels their feelings, and thinks their thoughts, in convincing ways. It is full of fine perceptions and penetrating explanations. It amends, for the East to some extent, Hansen's Middle Western conception of the cities as distribution points and temporary refuges. It brings out the absorptive role of the urban as well as the rural construction industry. It is particularly revealing of the inevitable schisms in families, groups, and churches, orthodox and dissenting. When one thinks of the manifold fraternal associations and activities among native American migrants, some of the similar attributions to immigrant Europeans are made too peculiar to them, but Chapter VII, In Fellow Feeling, illuminates many facets of American city life. The process that has been progressively pinched down to

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narrow proportions since 1917 reaches its dramatic conclusion in Chapter X, The Shock of Alienation, and Chapter XII, Promises.

All of which leads one to regret that Handlin did not tackle the larger task which Hansen left unfinished—at 1860—when he died prematurely in 1938.

J. B. BREBNER

Contrasts and Parallels

TURN WEST, TURN EAST: MARK TWAIN AND HENRY JAMES. By Henry Seidel Canby. Houghton Mifflin. $3.50.

MR. CANBY'S Plutarchian parallel of the lives of Mark Twain and Henry James is, up to a point, a happy enough device. The contrasts of course speak for themselves; what the parallel felicitously brings out is the common concern of these writers with the moral quality of American "innocence," the coming full circle in this theme of Twain's turn to the West and James's turn to the East. Mr. Canby establishes his cross-references with a very tactful sense of exactly what they can be made to yield by way of insight into the art and meaning of both writers—and with a very tactful sense of exactly where they cease to be useful. He reaches common ground, that is to say, without blurring differences; and the "good reader," who can respond to both Twain and James for what they are worth, is thereby fortified.

Nevertheless, Mr. Canby's "good reader," who steers so evenly between Twain's deficiencies in technique and James's excesses, who weighs so perceptively the claims of a single book of one fictional order against the claims of a whole *œuvre* of not quite so consummate an order, and so on—this reader, one is inclined to feel, arrives at his conciliation of opposites with perhaps a shade too little expense of spirit. If one projects the East-West polarity of American culture beyond the frame of Mr. Canby's parallel it seems to have either a good deal more relevance than Mr. Canby gives it or a good deal less. The tensions of the question, that is, are not altogether resolved by the ability of the "good reader" to appreciate Mark Twain on the one hand and James on the other. One thinks, for instance, of Ferner Nuhn's undeservedly forgotten "The Wind Blew East," with its brilliant foray into the subject from an anti-Eastern point of view. One conceives the possibility of an equally lively and equally partisan book from the opposite point of view. Or again one may regard the whole question as a perennial irrelevance of American literary discussion. But, in any case, Mr. Canby's synthesis, one feels, is a mean arrived at by a little too facile ignoring of extremes to be entirely valid. However, this is perhaps to scrutinize too closely what is after all merely a point of departure for an informed and intelligent discussion of two of our major writers.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Dilemma in Hollywood

THE PRODUCER. By Richard Brooks. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

THE producer is Matt Gibbons, son of Max Grubow, an immigrant plumber; husband of Natalie, expert on childlessness, spiritualism, psychoanalysis, dianetics, and Catholicism; father by adoption of little Natalie (at convent school) and little Matt (at military school).

Matt is near the top of the Hollywood ladder, but is tensely aware that one misstep—whether caused by the drunkenness of his leading man, the incompetence of his leading lady (a star of only the second magnitude, but the best he can afford under the million and a half dollar budget allotted him by the Studio), the Communist label on his script writer, or the uncompromising ending of the screen play—can end his chances of producing an "honest" movie and eliminate him from consideration as next production head of the Studio.

Matt reduces his tension with a plump divorcee, with barbiturates, and above all with an unshakable faith in the enduring nature of his own genius. It would seem that Mr. Brooks shares this faith to an extent, although the reasons for it are somewhat obscure.

"In the end, in the movie business, success was money." Still, Mr. Brooks suggests, Matt's success is due to more than his readiness to sacrifice principle to financial expediency; there are also his respect for honesty and independence—even when he cannot afford them himself—his genuine desire to accom-

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plish worth-while things, and his complete immersion in the complex technical job of film production, of which we are given an excellent and highly entertaining account.

One is left, in fact, with the feeling that if only the dead hand of the profit-seeker were somehow to be removed from its control over the entire operation, Hollywood would be able, because of the concentration of skills and talents, to produce works of the caliber of —the "message" films of the past few years. Such at least is the impression that Mr. Brooks gives us by involving us, for example, in the question of whether Matt will be able to do an "honest" Main Street, 1951, or will have to do "Nero" for the stockholders. Of course he has to do "Nero" in the end—promising himself that in return he will do an honest movie about coal miners; but suppose he had won out and done Main Street, 1951—how much better would it have been than "Nero"?

Implicit throughout the book is the belief that the real artistic struggle is between the financiers of mass culture and the liberal journalists who battle for the freedom to defend minorities, civil rights, and so on. Those for whom such a narrow view of cultural trends is sufficient will find "The Producer" completely convincing; others will feel that it is a shallow and unrewarding interpretation of the crisis in popular culture, particularly in a novel which cannot claim distinction for either the texture of its prose or the depth of its characterizations.

Nevertheless, despite Mr. Brooks's essentially ambiguous attitude toward the nature and the future of popular culture in America, he succeeds in exposing a number of particularly ugly sores. Especially significant is his insistence upon the constant use of the language of love—You're a sweetheart, a darling, I love you—as a soul-saving device among men whose loveless and friendless lives are a terrifying example of what can happen to a society where love and comradeship have been replaced by murderous competition, meaningless vanity, and insane mistrust.

HARVEY SWADOS

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Jesse Jones and the RFC

FIFTY BILLION DOLLARS. By Jesse Jones with Edward Angly. The Macmillan Company. $6.

THE trouble about the memoirs of those who were used and discarded by Franklin D. Roosevelt is that nobody can be sure what they would have said if Roosevelt had not fired them. Jesse Jones falls into the sad category of kiss-and-tell memoirists: he never resigned his New Deal job, but he is now convinced—after being ruthlessly fired in 1945—that Roosevelt deliberately plotted war in order to get the third term, that he did not like Negroes in general or Father Divine's prospective occupancy of an estate adjoining Hyde Park in particular, and that he was low, cunning, deceitful, and lacking in the capacity for gratitude for Jones's own remarkable public contributions.

Criticism of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation's handling of Baltimore and Ohio loans seems to Jones evidence of "some selfish or vindictive motive" on the part of Senator Tobey. Criticism of the war-time synthetic-rubber program directed by Jones "probably" arose from the fact that "my friend Baruch" and other Wall Streeters "were none too pleased that the RFC . . . could be run without calling on some of them." As a matter of fact, Jones had a good deal to do with breaking Wall Street's monopoly of credit, management control, and the country's affairs. A hostile Congress could have made much of the Baltimore and Ohio's employment of RFC executives after these executives had helped grant loans, but no Congress in RFC history was hostile to Jones. The measure of events, in the Jones era, may be suggested by the parable of Jack Garner. Garner was deemed a wild-eyed radical by the Republicans in 1932 for introducing a bill providing a billion dollars for federal relief of the unemployed, but by 1940 Garner was merely a Texas rancher and banker conservatively opposed to the New Deal and all its works, and happy, indeed, to retire from Mr. Roosevelt's vice-presidency.

Whether Houston bankers like Jones are socially more responsible than Wall Street bankers remains a dubious question. "Fifty Billion Dollars," unfortunately, is a dull book. Jones's collaborator, Angly, is an experienced newspaperman, but the evidence is that he served as an amanuensis rather than as co-author in writing critical passages.

WILLARD SHELTON

Books in Brief

THE SELECTED LETTERS OF WILLIAM COWPER. Edited with an Introduction by Mark Van Doren. Farrar, Straus and Young. $3.50. This is the second volume in a "Great Letters Series" of which Lionel Trilling's "Keats" was the first, and in both instances the letters are profoundly interesting in themselves as well as for their biographical information. Cowper wrote his for the same reason that he wrote his poems—because, as he said, "I have always more need of a laugh than of a cry." Both the poems and letters are the achievement of what he called "the arduous task of being merry by force," and yet there is nothing which seems forced in the playful humor of a man who nevertheless believed that he was predestined to damnation, who more than once attempted suicide, and who more than once went through periods of definite insanity. Mr. Van Doren has wisely chosen to represent Cowper's

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melancholia as well as his playfulness, and his introduction strikes exactly the right note, neither minimizing the abnormality nor complacently attempting to explain its significance away by glib references to the Freudian or any other psychology. That it had its origins in some more or less understandable abnormal mental state is probably true enough. But it was also a central fact of his private and of his literary personality. Any understanding of his writing as literature must accept it as such. A writer must be granted his premises, and one of Cowper's premises was simply that he was a damned soul. Did any other man so minded ever succeed in being witty, playful, and tender?

THE DAY BEFORE TOMORROW. By Robert Waithman. Scribner's. $2.75. An American correspondent for the London *News Chronicle* has collected his impressions of this country and its people in a book of wit and insight, with truth between the lines and wisdom in the wisecracks. Particularly recommended are the four Dialogues in a Bar.

SEX AND THE LAW. By Morris Ploscowe. Prentice-Hall. $3.95. A fascinating study of the legal crazy-quilt covering sexual conduct in this country, with suggestions that would lead toward more uniform and rational policies.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

THE LP dubbings of old—or even not very old—78 rpm recordings produce a sound which seems to have less space around it than the original and to be itself less full, expansive, resonant, and rich. In addition the transfers normally are made from special vinylite pressings of the 78 rpm masters, some of which are by now imperfect; and in some instances the master has deteriorated to the point where it is preferable to make the transfer from an old shellac record in good condition which gives less distorted sound and fewer swishes, but with some of the noise of the shellac surface. And finally, distortion may be introduced or aggravated, especially near the center of the record, by too fine a groove-cut.

Concerning RCA Victor's impatiently awaited LP dubbings of the pre-war Glyndebourne Festival recordings of "The Marriage of Figaro" and "Don Giovanni" and Beecham recording of "The Magic Flute" I can report, first of all, that they produce satisfactory approximations of the sounds of the originals—the "Figaro," as before, less voluminous and bright than the "Don Giovanni," and the "Magic Flute" again the clearest and most brilliant of the three. In addition I can report that there is no distortion of the sound in the "Figaro" and "Magic Flute," and that one's pleasure from them is not diminished by the noise of the considerable number of shellac records used in the first or the few used in the second (the LP surfaces, I should mention, are not quiet). But concerning the "Don Giovanni" I must report some distortion of Elvira's *Ah chi mi dice mai* and very bad distortion of Leporello's *Madamina!* on side 1. Anyone, therefore, who would like to have those historic and great performances can acquire the "Figaro" and "Magic Flute" without hesitation; but with the "Don Giovanni" he had better wait, on the chance that Victor may remedy the defect.

The greatness of the Glyndebourne "Figaro" is its over-all style—the animation, lightness, suavity, and sharp wit of the progression of beautifully integrated vocal and instrumental sound—for which one accepts the shortcomings of Mildmay and Helletsgruber in the otherwise excellent cast. The new Columbia "Figaro" offers a Vienna State Opera performance conducted by Von Karajan, with the same brilliant style, and with a brilliant cast—Erich Kunz (Figaro), Irmgard Seefried (Susanna), Elisabeth Schwarzkopf (the Countess), George London (the Count), Sena Jurinac (Cherubino)—of whom only Seefried is open to criticism for her kittenish singing at certain points. And this performance is reproduced with present-day spaciousness, clarity, and brilliance (though also with echoing of the empty auditorium which, however, doesn't blur the sound).

As for the Cetra recording of "Figaro," it has one merit—that it includes the recitative which the Victor and Columbia recordings omit. But the singing is inferior (Alda Noni, the Susanna, has a cold, tremulous voice; Gabriella Gatti, the Countess, and Jolanda Gardino, the Cherubino, have beautiful voices which are spoiled by tremolo); the performance conducted by Previtali is slow-moving and stodgy; and on a few sides there is distortion, and on one a loss of volume and brilliance, near the center.

Columbia's "Magic Flute" offers another Vienna State Opera performance with singers—Anton Dermota (Tamino), Erich Kunz (Papageno), Wilma Lipp (Queen of the Night), Irmgard Seefried (Pamina), Ludwig Weber (Sarastro)—who with one exception are better than those in Victor's Beecham performance. The exception is Lipp, who at times has a tremolo and is surpassed by the clear-voiced Erna Berger at the height of her powers. In addition Beecham, at the height of *his* powers, gives the performance an animation, a sharpness of phrase-outline, a forceful shaping of the orchestral part around the singing, which the Vienna performance conducted by Von Karajan doesn't have. Also the Berlin Philharmonic which Beecham conducts plays better than the Vienna Philharmonic. The Vienna performance is reproduced with greater brilliance (also with more pronounced echoing of the empty audi-

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torium); but the sound of the Beecham performance is excellent. And so if I had to choose between them I would choose the Beecham.

Last summer I reported on a Mercury recording of Mozart's delightful little opera "The Impresario," which I said was "excellently sung . . . with a chamber orchestra . . ." The singing *was* excellent; but I am embarrassed by my insufficient attention to the orchestra, whose inadequacy became strikingly evident when I heard the Period recording of a performance by German singers with the Stuttgart Ton-Studio Orchestra conducted by Rolf Reinhardt. Their singing of the florid passages is less brilliant; but the orchestra's playing makes this a real performance, which the Mercury was not. One defect the Period recording does have: it comes without the connecting spoken dialogue that Period included in its "Bastien et Bastienne" and that would separate passages of music which succeed each other without sense; nor is this dialogue even provided in the accompanying text.

An RCA Victor LP offers a strangely scrambled group of arias from "The Magic Flute," "Figaro," and "Don Giovanni," sung, with one exception, superbly by Pinza with undistinguished accompaniments conducted by Alfred Wallenstein. The exception is the taxing Champagne Aria from "Don Giovanni," which is rhythmically distorted —for lack of breath, I would say.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"NEVER SAY NEVER" (Booth Theater) is a farce which tries to be a comedy but never quite succeeds in making the grade. It is also what would be called in Hollywood "sophisticated," "adult," or even "Continental in spirit." But the words would have to be used in accordance with the publicity man's lexicon, in which "sophisticated" means "self-conscious," "adult" means "adolescent," and "Continental" means "after the manner of a Central European boulevard farce of the early nineteen hundreds." Carl Leo, the author, is a newcomer who has some obvious talents, but he has a good deal still to learn before he can be as smart and up-to-date as he would like to be.

The plot, which is serviceable without being exactly fresh, has to do with a young career girl living in high-minded sin with a ghost writer who has literary ambitions. When an old sweetheart from the crude and innocent Middle West turns up for a New York visit, she tries, with conspicuous lack of success, to prevent him from getting any right ideas about her. This constitutes the farcical part, the comedy supposedly consisting in the contrast between the keen intelligence and sophisticated *mores* of New York and the cultural obtuseness and prurient innocence of the rest of the country. It is in this department that the lack of success is most evident.

In the first place, while the butter-and-egg man is repulsive enough, the hero and heroine are not so impressive as they should be because their superior culture seems to consist chiefly in such things as an awareness of *Partisan Review* and a perhaps exaggerated idea of the importance of the difference between "the Stork"—not of course "the Stork Club"—and "Leon and Eddie's." Even more important is the fact that everything in the general tone and atmosphere is both slightly old-fashioned and in other ways not quite right. For example, I am sure that it has been at least twenty-five years since I, at least, have met a young lady who refused to marry her young man on the early-Shavian, early H. G. Wellsian ground that a really serious young intellectual owes it to herself to refuse compliance with such bourgeois customs as matrimony. Living in Sin is no doubt still common enough, and the reasons are many, but this particular one is no longer typical of those who read *Partisan Review* and are at home at "the Stork." There are dozens of other instances of just this sort of wrongness, and while they would hardly matter in a pure farce they are fatal to the kind of comedy "Never Say Never" aspires to be. So far as I am concerned, the most successful character was a semi-standard version of the innocent gold-digger, which is played with wonderful adenoidal and dead-pan charm by Miss Nita Talbot, making her Broadway debut. I liked especially her line to the hero when she drops in for a pre-breakfast chat and finds him in a rage: "I'm a single girl and I'm not used to being yelled at this early in the morning."

"To Dorothy, a Son" (John Golden Theater) is a typical example of a sort of old-fashioned, simple-minded farce which the British still like but we do not. It is all about one of those wills which leave a million dollars to somebody if a son is born before nine a. m. on a certain date, and there is no use in being patriotically superior about it. We don't understand London tolerance for this sort of thing any more than Londoners understand our liking for a noisier sort of nonsense. We call them childish; they call us vulgar; and both are right. The only thing which should cause any surprise is the fact that a successful producer should have failed to see how irrelevant a London run was in this particular case. The male lead is played pleasantly by Ronald Howard, who looks a good deal and acts a little bit as his father, Leslie, did. The feminine lead is performed with considerable verve by the American Hildy Parks.

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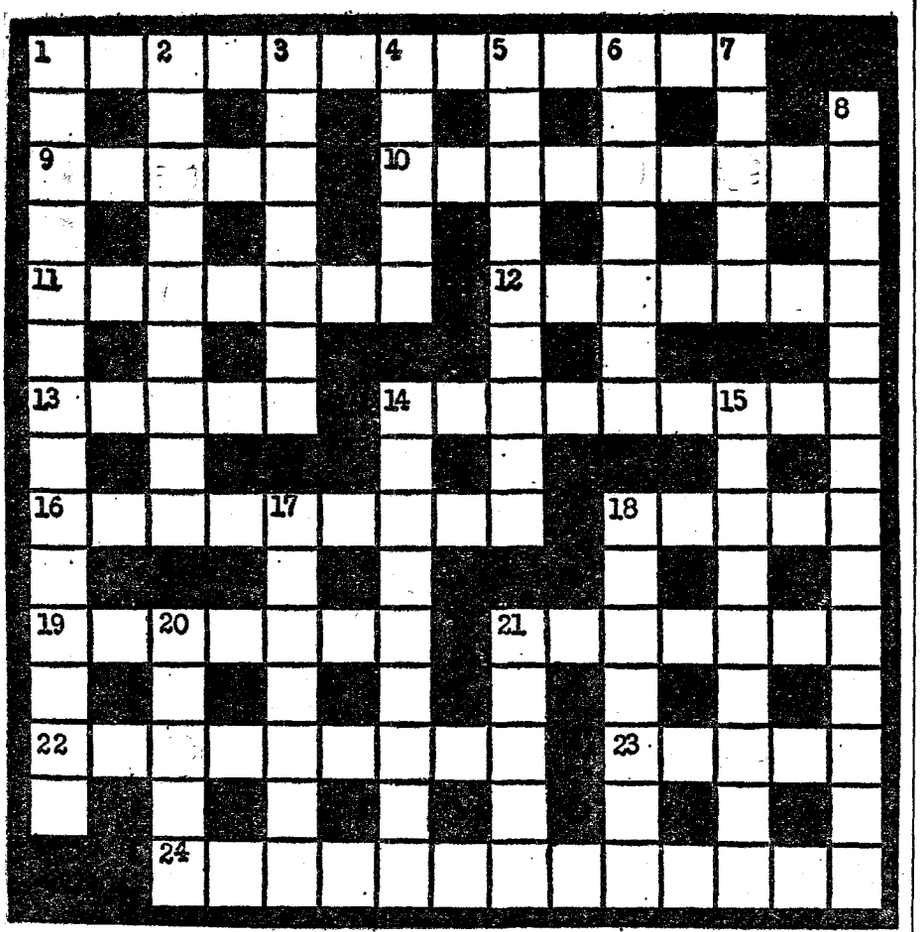
Crossword Puzzle No. 442

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 The song suggests a trip to Dover this day. (6, 7)
9 A blind one is just like a pig. (5)
10 Implies flower rings? (9)
11 Literally slanted? (7)
12 Gefüllte fish might be to the 13. (7)
13 See 12 (5)
14 Is the German victory cooked up in character? (9)
16 Not present to speak to the office. (9)
18 This cap is sort of shaky on board. (5)
19 Comparatively like the soul of Webster's cartoon. (7)
21 Some might term it a piercing wind. (7)
22 Shaw's work might be upsetting. (5, 4)
23 What the first of 22 has to do to blush. (5)
24 Un-representer of enterprising undertakers. (13)

DOWN

1 Developing a slow burn (before you leave)? (7, 2, 5)
2 Rustic furniture for counters? (3, 6)
3 False sideburns for the little pests? (7)
4 Used to be turned down before turning in. (5)
5 Stop a part of an act with lines on steel. (Sounds like a critic might!) (9)
6 How lights get put out when put out? (2, 1, 4)
7 Surly. (5)
8 Embellished narratives for the Comptroller? (6, 8)
14 Did Rinehart's get around well? (9)
15 Improvised. (9)
17 It certainly couldn't be an evening piece. (7)
18 Sacred scripture means the reading. (7)
20 Ample supply of it in the north temperate zone. (5)
21 Pan pursues this in play. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 441

ACROSS:—1 STOCK EXCHANGE; 10 UNTIRED; 11 VITALLY; 12 FREEMASON; 13 EVERS; 14 REFUTE; 16 TROTTING; 19 COERCION; 20 TASSEL; 22 MAGIC; 23 RHEINGOLD; 25 CATALAN; 26 INMATES; 27 CROSSBREEDING.

DOWN:—2 TITLE; 3 CHROMATIC SCALES; 4 ELDEST; 5 COVENTRY; 6 and 21 A STREETCAR NAMED DESIRE; 7 GALLERIES; 8 SULFURIC; 9 EYES; 15 FREIGHTER; 17 GOLD DUST; 18 DOORKNOB; 22 MACE; 24 OFTEN.

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